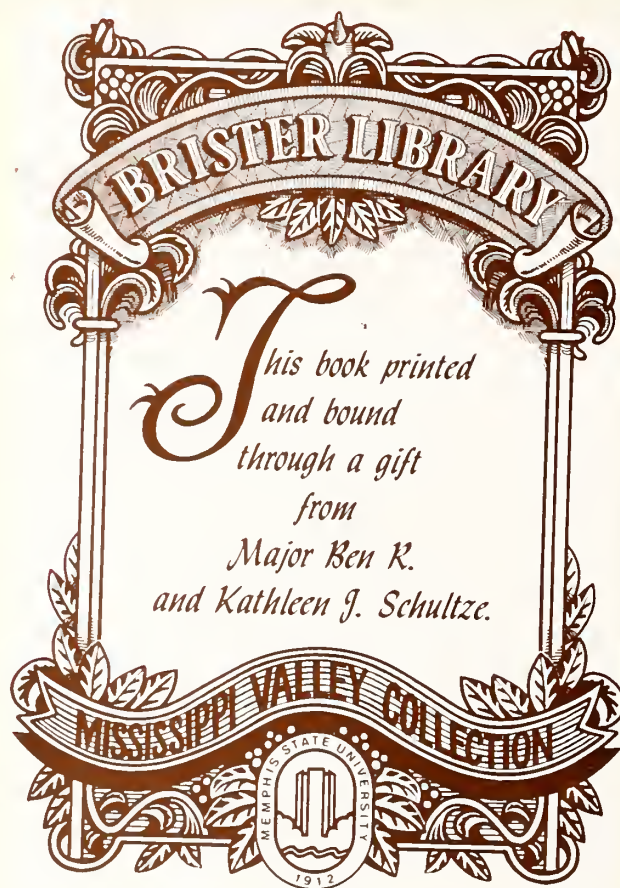


AN ORAL HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION  
INTERVIEWS WITH  
JAMES C. CALDWELL

BY - CHARLES W. CRAWFORD  
TRANSCRIBER - BETTY WILLIAMS  
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NOVEMBER 26, 1975

BY CHARLES W. CRAWFORD

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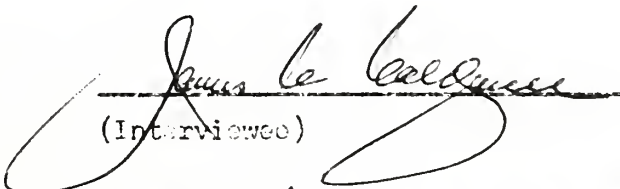
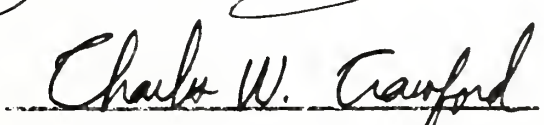
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PLACE

Chattanooga, Tennessee

DATE

November 26, 1975.  
(Interviewee)  
(For the Mississippi Valley Archives  
of the John Willard Brister Library  
of Memphis State University)

# THEORY OF THE EARTH

BY J. H. VAN DIJK, D. Sc., Ph. D.

Professor of Geology, University of Amsterdam

Translated by J. H. VAN DIJK, D. Sc., Ph. D.

Second Edition

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THIS IS THE ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE OF MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY. THIS PROJECT IS THE HISTORY OF THE WINFIELD DUNN ADMINISTRATION. THE DATE IS NOVEMBER 26, 1975. THE PLACE IS CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE. THE INTERVIEW IS WITH MR. JAMES C. CALDWELL. INTERVIEW IS BY DR. CHARLES W. CRAWFORD, DIRECTOR OF THE MEMPHIS STATE UNIVERSITY ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE.

DR.CRAWFORD: Mr. Caldwell, I suggest we start by getting a background of your life and I think in your case considering your legislative experience, we'd better get a little more detail than we usually do. If you will, start with your family, date and place of birth and just bring us up to date.

MR. CALDWELL: I was born in 1925 in Decatur, Alabama, but moved to Chattanooga when I was very young, at the age of one, I believe. I have grown up in Chattanooga and lived here all my life. My father was with the Southern Railroad here and was very active in railroad circles. My mother was a school teacher in the Hamilton County schools. I grew up here and went to Central High School and went into service and came back and graduated from now what is the University of Tennessee-Chattanooga. At that time it was the University of Chattanooga.

DR. CRAWFORD: What did you study at the University, Mr. Caldwell?



MR. CALDWELL: I graduated with a Bachelor of Business of Administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: What year was that?

MR. CALDWELL: Nineteen forty-nine.

DR. CRAWFORD: After graduating from the University of Chattanooga as it was then, what did you do?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, I went into the life insurance business while I was in college. Actually, I worked in the life business for three years while I was in college and a year after I graduated. Then I became a life department manager for a large general insurance agency here in town and was with them for four years. Then I went into my own agency in 1954 and formed what used to be called Jim Caldwell Insurance Agency and subsequently evolved into Caldwell and Associates.

I became very active in the Jaycees while I was in college. I subsequently held a number of offices in the Jaycees and eventually ran for the local presidency of the Jaycees and I got that. Then I was a national director and then I ran for state presidency and got beat in that race. That is when I decided to run for the legislature.

The event that decided my running for the legislature was the impeachment trial of Judge Schoolfield. It had occurred and I felt like that there was going to be a pretty well wholesale cleaning of the delegation. I ran not with the idea of really expecting to win but with the expectation

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that perhaps my name might become well enough known that I could run the following term and perhaps win and serve in the legislature. But as luck had it, I came in and was able to win that first time around.

DR. CRAWFORD:           What year was the trial of Judge Ralston Schoolfield and your first campaign?

MR. CALDWELL:           Well, my first campaign was in 1958 so I am presuming that his trial was like in 1957 or '58 or something in that area.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Let's see, when you ran for the legislature first in 1958, what sort of campaign did you carry on? How did you organize things and in what party were you?

MR. CALDWELL:           It never entered in anybody's mind that wanted to run for the legislature in those days to run as anything but a Democrat. The race was in the Democratic primary and not in the general election. In those days you ran from the county at large. We did not have legislative districts. I chose to run and the top three people or top three vote-getters in that campaign were the winners of the Democratic primary. I came in third behind a very good friend of mine of whom I have a great deal of respect for, Senator Carter Patton, and then Ralph Kelly who subsequently became Mayor of Chattanooga and is now our Federal Bankruptcy Judge. The other member of our delegation was Senator Ben Cash and those were the senators from Hamilton County. In those days Hamilton County had three





Representatives and one Senator. We were the worst misapportioned county of the state and that was the battle cry of our campaign. That was the issue on which we campaigned. Those were back in the days of the famous Baker v. Carr battle and subsequently we were able to achieve the reapportionment that was so badly needed for our county.

But I ran as a Democrat and came in third. There were three positions to fill, and that was the bottom position to fill. I subsequently led the ticket, I believe the following term. I served five terms in the Legislature as a Democratic legislator serving in 1963, my third term as Floor Leader in the Frank Clement administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you in the Legislature consecutively all the time you served?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, I ran five terms and was elected each one of those five terms and served from 1959 through 1968.

DR. CRAWFORD: Why did you leave the Legislature in '68?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, I was having a great deal of business pressure here. I didn't have sufficient time. The Legislature had become so much a part of my life and so much a time demand on me that I could not justify the economic problems that were being created. That is, my business had grown and was beginning to expand and I needed my time here.

I also had become quite disenchanted with the direction that I felt the Democratic party was moving. I would go into



Democratic caucus meetings and would find a number of substantial and solid (I will use the term) conservative Democrats that believed pretty well the way I believed. They believed particularly in fiscal responsibility in state government and yet I found the majority of the Democratic legislators were frequently out voting us on issues that were just totally unsound and they were putting a great deal of pressure. Although there is no legal obligation, but there was a strong party plea for unity if you are a member of the Democratic Caucus. The Democratic Caucus votes one way and they need all those votes while there is a strong plea and strong pressure to vote with the majority of that Democratic Caucus.

I found myself in a position of where I was being requested to vote contrary to my views. And I found myself more comfortable with the Republican view and it became more and more to the point that I just got disenchanted with the Democratic State Delegation.

So I decided that I would withdraw. It was a good excuse for me to quit as far as my business was concerned. I also felt that if I was going to be a Republican that I should not attempt to run as an incumbent by just switching parties, that I should stay out at least one term and then if I was able to come back--well, fine--I would come back as a Republican.



So I announced at the end of the '68 session that I was going to switch party allegiance to the Republican party and that I would not run for reelection.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you feel that the Democratic party became less conservative during the 1960's?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, there was no question about that.

Not so much from the Governor's viewpoint or the Governor himself [himself] for I felt like Buford Ellington did a very fine job as a conservative Democratic governor. But I felt like the legislative groups who were coming in that were representing the Democrats were getting far more liberal than I was. The conservatives seemed to be disappearing. This primarily came about as a result of the legislative redistricting and that type of thing.

DR. CRAWFORD: As a result of the legislative redistricting the rural areas lost influence in the General Assembly, didn't they?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, considerably and they tended to be replaced by much more liberal metropolitan area Democrats.

DR. CRAWFORD: Which of your activities did you enjoy most or feel contributed most while you were in the General Assembly?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, I became the Chairman of the Finance Ways and Means Committee. Also I was Co-Chairman of the Rules Committee. Back in those days the Rules Committee or the Committee on Committees had life and death ability on most any piece of legislation that was





wanted. If the Rules Committee didn't want a piece of legislation on the floor, it didn't flat get to the floor to be voted on.

The Finance Ways and Means Committee concerned itself with state budgeting and state expenses of course. Things such as the fiscal notes for example which is an attachment which is still required to this date of every bill that influences state revenue. It requires an estimate of the number of jobs that are involved, the number of dollars that are involved--the fiscal impact of that bill's passage on the state. This was a piece of legislation that was hard to get passed. It was passed by my sponsorship and it was something that I was proud of. We attempted to break up the budget into different segments and have those budgets reviewed by the different committees.

For example, the Agricultural Committee could review the Department of Agriculture's budget and this type of thing. But all efforts of that type of breaking up went to naught really. We never were really able to develop a scheme that would break it up and bring it back together and match up revenue with total expenditures. But we do feel like that we caused a number of close looks at budgets. We began to have an awareness of what budgets would bring about. We probably began during the Ellington administration some steps that caused the Governor's authority to begin to be weakened. Up until that time the Governor pretty well had life or death



control over the Legislature. Anything he wanted--he got passed. That we felt like was an imbalance in favor of the the executive [branch] and not adequate from a legislative standpoint.

The Legislature began to assert itself beginning in about '63 to '65. It became into real fruition in about '67 and I feel like I contributed a great deal to that.

I also served as Chairman of the Public Mental Health Committee in '67 or '68 or '69. I'm not sure now of the term now. I did a great deal of work in the field of mental retardation and in the field of mental health legislation which might be construed to be liberal legislation, but which I felt like it had my stamp on it and I felt like it was sound legislation. It has stood the test of time.

DR. CRAWFORD:           You were interested in maintaining businesslike control over the state expenditures.

MR. CALDWELL:           That's right. I wanted very badly to maintain a pay as you go basis. I guess that I didn't mind passing new taxes. In 1963 I sponsored a bunch of new taxes, as it turned out, that we didn't need. But the estimates that we had from the Executive branch indicated that they were essential. The economy turned out to be such that it turned out we didn't need them all. I did not mind passing new taxes if we needed them, but I hated like the mischief to pass bonds and pass other issues of debt service that in my judgment were not sound or essential.



DR. CRAWFORD: Did you believe in operating the state government then under principles that you would wish to apply in a business?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, for example, the Legislature prior to the passage of that fiscal note, had no earthly idea what the fiscal impact of a piece of legislation was. The sponsor would frequently get up and say what he felt like the fiscal impact might be, but the question of the number of jobs that would be involved, the number of jobs that would be created, and independent professional advice as to what the fiscal impact would be was just simply not done previous to that.

I went to a Council of State Government meeting--I'm not sure which one it was but I believe it was in Phoenix that one year--and listened to Oklahoma's delegates discuss their fiscal note matters and came away with a distinct impression that ought to be done in Tennessee. I eventually got that done. While that is just one item, I felt like it was a very important item. It has resulted in an awful lot of bad legislation to not be passed and resulted in a lot of maybe good legislation to be modified so that we can afford it. I think it has been good for the state.

DR. CRAWFORD: Mr. Caldwell, the situation in state government between the Governor and the Legislature has changed a great deal.



MR. CALDWELL: Drastically!

DR. CRAWFORD: Can you describe generally what it was like in the Ellington-Clement-Ellington period that you were there so that there will be a picture for contrast?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, of course, the first term that I came into the Legislature was 1959 when Buford Ellington came into office his first term. At that particular time the Governor had absolutely life or death control over all legislation. That was generally handled by the Rules Committee or the Committee on Committees. They just simply did not let a bill out of the Rules Committee if it was opposed by the Governor. If they had a strong proposition in one house and a little bit weaker in the other, they would let the prime sponsor who was so terribly interested in passing the bill--let him go ahead and pass it in his house but they would hold it for sure in the other house. They would not let it become law. It just would not go to the Governor's Office.

In those days, I always remember the story and I remember seeing it happen, Dave Givens was the Floor Leader and I have forgotten the year now. Somebody asked Mr. Givens what a particular bill meant and it was a rather complicated bill and I don't know that it did a whole lot. Nobody else did either. But the point was that Dave responded and said, "Gee, I don't know what it does. It is just an administration bill so go on and vote for it." Something to that effect. Darn





if they didn't do it! There just seemed to be enough legislators that blindly followed whatever the Chief Executive wanted. I guess I partially did the same because I was Administration Floor Leader in '63.

But at least in '63 I found myself in the Governor's Office frequently arguing vehemently that something should not be passed. That gave me a little bit better feeling. Sometimes I began to understand why some things were wanted passed or some things were not wanted passed that I did not have when I had the legislative side only.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Why did the Legislature give such unquestioning support to the Chief Executive then? Do you think it was just a matter of habit or did he really exert any power over them?

MR. CALDWELL:           Well he had absolute control on the choosing of the Speaker. I say he had absolute control, that was the way it worked. I don't know. Of course, he had to get it by the acquiescence of the legislators, but that is the way it worked. The committee appointments were completely controlled by the Speaker so as a result, the Governor exerted a tremendous amount of influence on the Legislature. Because any of the appointments and any of the actions of the Speakers were controlled by the Chief Executive. If you want to label it that way, the two Speakers were more or less administrative representatives.

I might add that I learned to appreciate the role that those Speakers played because I learned to believe sincerely



that they objected frequently and prevented a number of bad pieces of legislation from coming, but the appearance to the public and the appearance to the average legislator was such that the Chief Executive ran the show completely.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that that had not always been the picture in Tennessee, but I am not sure where the change came.

MR. CALDWELL: I understand that the historical change developed with Austin Peay back in about the twenties or somewhere along in there. But that was before my time of course.

DR. CRAWFORD: Yes, he was an exceptionally strong Tennessee Governor, serving from I believe about '23 to about '27. I would suspect that there some weak governors after that and probably this changed. I am not sure of that. You may remember that Governor Henry Horton was virtually impeached at one time.

MR. CALDWELL: Yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: I don't know, at any rate, by the time you were in there is no question in the Clement-Ellington period. . . .

MR. CALDWELL: There is no question but that the Governor ran the show. That is correct.

DR. CRAWFORD: And of course things have changed considerably since.



MR. CALDWELL: Yes, they have. (Laughter)

DR. CRAWFORD: That provides an interesting basis for a comparison with the way things are now.

I believe that Governor Blanton served in the Legislature with you, didn't he?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, he did.

DR. CRAWFORD: And perhaps people have difficulty with adjusting to changing situations that might come up.

MR. CALDWELL: I think that has probably had some impact with Blanton. As you know he came into office and started demanding this, or that or the other. And he found, much to his surprise, that the Legislature didn't follow his wishes. As a matter of fact, the Democratic majority didn't follow. I think that that directly lends itself to the same thing. That is, the Legislature has established itself now as its own independent body and they are going to make up their own minds.

DR. CRAWFORD: That may be one of the results of the Winfield Dunn administration in Tennessee that having a Governor of a different party caused the Legislature to develop an independence.

MR. CALDWELL: There is no question that that was fostered during that [time]. I really think it was started drastically during Ellington's second administration. I had some small part in this maybe. I felt very strongly legislative independence is desired if it is





reasonable. You know you have a pendulum swung too far in favor of the Executive and if you swing that pendulum too far in the other direction and to the place where there is no spirit of cooperation or no trust or no interest in cooperation and the Legislature becomes the totally dominant force, then the pendulum has swung too far. The trick is to make the pendulum come back to the middle and not to swing too far to one side or the other.

DR. CRAWFORD: It seems to me that a lot of the history consists of variations in this give and take--this struggle for power between the Executive and the Legislature--in which sometimes you have one pulling ahead then the other coming into power.

MR. CALDWELL: There is no question in my mind but what the Legislature has preeminence at this particular point.

DR. CRAWFORD: So you have seen it under both circumstances. What did you do after you left the Legislature and became a Republican and came back to Chattanooga?

MR. CALDWELL: I helped a good friend of mine that first term, Dr. Paul Nolan, get elected to my seat. Paul served in my seat for two years. Then following that race, I began to give some thought about the possibility of returning or the possibility of running for Congress or of something of this type. Senator Bill Brock who was our Congressman elected to run for the Senate and was elected as you

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will recall. And that left a vacancy in the Congressional seat and I began to look at that seat with some interest but eventually decided not to seek the seat myself, feeling that I would have considerable difficulty perhaps in a Republican primary. I eventually became campaign manager for Congressman Lamar Baker and he was subsequently elected.

DR. CRAWFORD:           So you were active in politics during that time even though you were not holding office.

MR. CALDWELL:           That's correct. Now I have retained a degree of active interest ever since and am still actively interested.

DR. CRAWFORD:           What were you doing in the summer of 1970 when the Winfield Dunn campaign first got underway?

MR. CALDWELL:           Well, as I said, I became the campaign manager for Lamar Baker's first effort at Congress seat. We had a tremendously tenuous Republican primary--primarily between Lamar and Jack McDonald. Lamar won that primary and got the support of Jack and we went on to get him elected to Congress over his Democratic opponent, Dick Winningham. He served in the Congress that term and was subsequently reelected another term. Then he was unfortunately defeated this past term.

DR. CRAWFORD:           In the campaign against Marilyn Lloyd in the Third District?



MR. CALDWELL: In the campaign against Marilyn Lloyd, right.

DR. CRAWFORD: So you were active at the time. Do you remember the incident when you first met Winfield Dunn?

MR. CALDWELL: I am not sure where I first met him, but I believe it was at a horse show in Pikeville. He was on the campaign trail and I had heard of him, but he was a Memphis Republican that everybody had a good attitude toward but nobody knew or nobody had any real appreciation of or understanding of. I met him and was tremendously impressed by him. But a few days later I had an occasion to be on a platform representing Lamar Baker along with Betty Dunn.

I came back that evening and told my wife, I said, "Gee, the best asset the governor has is his wife!" (At that time he wasn't the Governor, of course). But the best asset that Winfield Dunn has is Betty. I told Mary that she was not only attractive, but she was very engaging, and very astute in my judgment. She handled herself beautifully that evening in a rural, non-sophisticated political gathering. She made quite an impression on me. I passed the word of that on to Winfield Dunn. I saw him a week or two later and he seemed to be very pleased. I formed a very high opinion of both he and Betty. But I really never gave them much thought because I was so wrapped up in Lamar Baker's campaign that I was just too busy to be abnormally concerned with the governor's primary.



I frankly, to be honest with you, on election night was somewhat surprised to find Winfield Dunn winning the Republican primary. But I was delighted for I felt like he would make an excellent candidate. There was no reason that he could not mold all the Republican factions together into an effective campaign. And that is exactly what happened. And of course, I was tied up during the general election with Lamar Baker's campaign, but I followed Winfield Dunn's campaign with a great deal more interest then because we were on a number of platforms together during that general campaign.

DR. CRAWFORD:           What other contact did you have with him here in Hamilton County? Did he campaign in this area during the general?

MR. CALDWELL:           Yes, he did and became very well thought of and carried Hamilton County in the general election with a very fine margin. In the primary very few people knew him here. He was a Memphis Republican that everybody liked but that nobody gave very much of a chance of winning the primary. (Laughter)

DR. CRAWFORD:           Well, he had some things that might have been regarded as handicaps. He was from Memphis; he was a dentist and never served in the General Assembly, nor had much to do with state-wide politics.

MR. CALDWELL:           That's correct.

DR. CRAWFORD:           He really was not well-known and started out without much recognition.





MR. CALDWELL: He has an awful lot of talent. He has a tremendously engaging personality. The word empathy might be a good way of describing him to the point that he went over beautifully and became an instant success in my judgment.

DR. CRAWFORD: In his campaign in Hamilton County, what parts of it do you remember? I know you were busy in Lamar Baker's campaign, but do you remember any of Dunn's speeches or seeing any of his campaign?

MR. CALDWELL: Oh yes, we were together a number of times during that campaign. I listened to his speeches, but I frankly was far removed from that and I don't recall any great significance. When you listen to them day in and day out they become somewhat repetitious and you don't pay much attention to them. But things such as the kindergarten issue was an issue that he made a lot of hay with. The issue of the state of Tennessee being three states--you'll recall the state signs that said, "The Three States of Tennessee"--or something like that, referring to middle, east and west.

The people over here in the east didn't particularly care for that type of thing. He made a lot of little points I would say with the fact that it was really one state instead of three. Tourism is a big industry in our area and there was general agreement that that would foster more tourism and so I think that his campaign was very, very well run.



A lot of people voted for him in this area because of his opponent. They were voting against the opponent rather than for him. But regardless of why they voted for him, they did. He certainly fostered a fine image and ran a very fine campaign.

Tom Moore was the county campaign manager. I had a good deal of contact with him. We were running a campaign of Brock, Dunn and Lamar Baker here. We were able to achieve a spirit of unity and a spirit of cooperation with all three of those campaigns without great debate or without controversy existing between the three. We were able also to bring our legislative candidates on in pretty good shape. So it was a joyous campaign for us.

DR. CRAWFORD: I think his opponent had something to do with the great support that he did get, considering the fact that he was not too well-known.

MR. CALDWELL: There was decidedly a lot of people here who didn't want to vote for Mr. Hooker and they voted very positively for Winfield Dunn on the strength that the opponent was Mr. Hooker.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, Hamilton County has a large number of votes. Is it about the fourth largest in the state in terms of voter registration?

MR. CALDWELL: I believe that is about right, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: I would guess Shelby, Davidson and Knox, and then Hamilton in that order?



MR. CALDWELL: That's correct. We are almost the same as Knox but not quite.

DR. CRAWFORD: So the success here was quite important in the winning total that he had.

MR. CALDWELL: Right.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember anything special or unusual about the Dunn campaign in the general election in Hamilton County?

MR. CALDWELL: I don't come up with anything right off-hand. There were a lot of comments and a lot of effort was put together in running as a team in Hamilton County. The Governor was most cooperative in doing so and in my judgment it was one of the big reasons for his success.

Bill Brock was a very powerful factor in our county at that time because he was the retiring Congressman in this area and this was his home county. He contributed immeasurably to the success of the ticket in this area and it caused a few problems between the Dunn forces and the Brock forces. We were able to serve as a little bit of a mediator perhaps in resolving a few of those minor flaps.

It really worked very well as a team effort without having what I would call a ticket effort. Each one of the three of us ran separate campaigns and each one of the three did all we could for ourselves but at the same time we made a positive effort to support the other members of that team while we were running. The result was a spirit of cooperation, a spirit of definite interest in the other's campaign and a definite help. I think that contributed



immeasurably to Dunn's total in Hamilton County. Because the Brock people and the Lamar Baker people both really supported him in a good sort of way.

DR. CRAWFORD:           What impression did you get of the people that Winfield Dunn had working on his campaign staff? I know there were some people, some of them young men that traveled with him and who got around the state for him.

MR. CALDWELL:           I had very little contact with them and I really don't have any real memory at this point of them. I remember Robin Beard was involved, I think, but he had been with the Maxey Jarman campaign in the primary as I recall. There were one or two others. Most of my contact was with Tom Moore. He handled the contact with the staff people. So I frankly don't have any definite recollection of it.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Did you have any joint appearances with the candidate?

MR. CALDWELL:           Oh sure, yes, a number of them.

DR. CRAWFORD:           I know it is difficult to compare ability in dealing with the public, but you are dealing in the case of Winfield Dunn with a person who had no political background--that is, had no office holding background--had never been to law school as was customary I suppose for the average politician in Tennessee. How did he do in public speaking in comparison with the other candidates?





MR. CALDWELL: Well that was far and away his strongest point, I think. He did extremely well. It wasn't just mediocre well, it was extremely well. He had a tremendous ability to say the right words at the right time and in the right manner. Not only did he have that ability, but, I come back to this because I think she contributed a great deal to his campaign--more maybe than she might be getting credit for--but Betty had the same kind of ability. She just did a splendid job in a number of instances.

The instance I referred to awhile ago was a little school and I don't remember the name of it because it was up on the mountain and I am not sure if it was in Rhea County or Bledsoe County, and she did an extremely sound job of speaking to those people in an intelligent manner on a level that they could understand with enough issues in it that they had some meat to it, but without so much in the way of issues that it became dead or insignificant to them. She hit one or two key points and she did it in a very pleasant and a pleasing sort of manner. I just feel like she contributed immeasurably.

Both the Governor and Betty were very effective on stage. It was such a contrast. Lamar Baker was a marvelous man and had the finest of reputations for total honesty and integrity and that type of thing, but he didn't have a very fine stage presence. He wasn't an excellent pulpiter, I would call it. He contributed to solidarity--the background--the people knew him. The good things that he said about Winfield Dunn helped Winfield Dunn. By the same token Governor Dunn had the

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speaking ability to project himself and the good things that he said about Lamar Baker and the support he gave to Lamar Baker was of immeasurable help to Lamar in the campaign for Lamar.

And the same thing is true of Bill Brock's campaign. Although I think the biggest thing Bill contributed, was an extremely fine political organization. They got out votes and developed a lot of solid political strength. It demonstrated itself by having all three of those ingredients because Bill being from this area had to pretty well project himself and kept most of his time on the road in other parts of the state. He hit Hamilton County just enough to let people know that he was around, but he was primarily working in Memphis and in other sections of the state where he was not well-known. The result was with the three ingredients that these three people contributed it was a very successful campaign for all three of them.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe that Winfield Dunn and Lamar Baker first got acquainted in this campaign. I think it is fairly well-known that Congressman Quillen in the First District did not always get along on the best possible terms with Governor Dunn. I believe on the other hand you had good relations between Lamar Baker and Winfield Dunn all the way through. Is this correct?



MR. CALDWELL: To the best of my knowledge even today the relations are just as friendly and courteous and kind and considerate of each other. The Governor and I have visited with each other about six months ago or so. And one of the first questions he asked me was: 'How was Lamar Baker doing? How had things come along with him?' Yes, as best I know, the friendship and relationship has been nothing but the highest order ever since they were elected.

DR. CRAWFORD: I know that when a campaign gets underway and it gets close to election day you develop some sort of feeling about how things are going. What impression did you get about the Dunn campaign when it came close to election day.

MR. CALDWELL: Well, there was a marvelous spirit of cooperation, a marvelous enthusiasm among the Republican workers in this area. I had a real good feeling about the campaign. It manifested itself on election day. I can't describe it other than it was an awfully good feeling.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you generally confident of the outcome?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, I was quite confident. It went just exactly like I expected in that one. I admit I've had some I have been quite confident of that didn't go the way that I expected them to, but that particular one did go exactly the way I expected. If there was any one of those three candidates that I was a little nervous



about, it was the Governor. But I felt awfully good about him in Hamilton County and in this area--this Congressional District. I was a little worried about what Middle Tennessee and West Tennessee would do to him.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, I can understand Middle Tennessee has traditionally been the weakest area for Republicans before in the state.

MR. CALDWELL: Right.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember the approximate vote totals or the distribution of votes in Hamilton County? I know that this is on the record.

MR. CALDWELL: No sir, I really don't, but he carried it with a substantial majority in Hamilton County.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did he win by percentages comparable to the other Republican candidates running?

MR. CALDWELL: As I recall he carried it with even more than--I know he carried it with even more than Lamar did. Lamar Baker had the touchiest one of the three races in the General election. My recollection was that there was very little difference between Brock's totals and the Governor's totals but if I'm not badly mistaken, the Governor got a few more votes here than Brock did.

DR. CRAWFORD: Where were you on election night, 1970?

MR. CALDWELL: Well we worked all day long in the polls, really visiting a number of the polls where we had workers and just checking with them all day





long. I got back home as I recall around 7:30, showered and changed clothes then came downtown to the Lamar Baker headquarters which we had downtown. We watched the returns there and then when the returns were evident as to the results then we went with Lamar and Susan Baker to the various TV stations and radio for interviews and that sort of thing.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you remember where the Winfield Dunn headquarters were located here?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, we had a joint headquarters for all three of them. The Brock, Dunn and Baker campaigns were all in what I refer to as the Grant Store down on Market Street. It was a large building--it was just an empty building in a good location. We ran the campaigns for the State Senate and for the legislative races out of there too. Although each of those people had legislative district headquarters in addition.

DR. CRAWFORD: Between the election and the inauguration of Governor Dunn, did you have any contact with him?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, he contacted me or I was contacted by Frank Barnett, I believe. I'm not sure how I was contacted, but I was contacted by the Governor who asked me to come over to Nashville and meet with him. I was conscious of the fact that he had asked Lamar Baker for some recommendations as to some personnel for his cabinet and what have you. Lamar had discussed with me would I be interested in the job of Insurance Commissioner or something of



this order. I had told Lamar that I would probably be interested in such a position if that was feasible. I was totally relaxed on it because of my business here was such that it certainly demanded a lot of my time. I could stay here of course. The opportunity to serve in a position of that type is a rare event in anyone's life and I would have probably accepted such a position.

I did go over to Nashville on the appointed time. I met with he and Frank up in the Quality Court Motel there in Nashville. They had the upper floor as I recall or the penthouse or something up there. We had a brief visit and then he said, 'How about let's going to eat?' So we went to a German restaurant--I've forgotten the name of it. It was close by. I remember we had pig's knuckles and sauerkraut and that sort of thing. We had a good conversation there in an open restaurant. A lot of people were amazed to find the Governor coming to a restaurant like that. We had a good meal together and then we came back to the motel and discussed the possibility of my taking a position of that type.

The problem I had was what would I do with the agency itself. The job required no conflict of interest--the statutes did. I told the Governor that I would be perfectly willing to set it up in a trust and let it be non-voting and not have any direct interest. After all, his term lasted four years and I had to make a living somehow at the end of four years. I didn't want to have to start all over again.

So he checked that out with the Attorney General and



eventually advised that the Attorney General did not feel like that was a feasible way of handling it. That it would require me to sell my stock in the agency and get completely out of it. I didn't want to do that and so I reluctantly passed any possibility of any appointment that I had up at that time.

We had discussed on that occasion the slight possibility of me serving on his executive staff in some kind of capacity. I had told him that unless I took the Insurance Commissioner job that I did not feel like I could justify on the salary level that would be involved coming over to Nashville to serve on his staff in some capacity. Unless I had Frank's job and Frank looked like he was pretty well already settled in his position there. That really didn't get off the ground, so to speak. He talked with me by phone and felt like I would have to sell the thing. I just told him that I couldn't afford to do that. So we parted on a good relationship. He told me that he would be counting on me for advice on a number of occasions. So that pretty well closed that out. As I recall, that was about November or December or about this time of year in 1970 I guess.

Then subsequently, he was inaugurated. I went over for the inauguration and enjoyed that. I got through with that aspect of it and he started the Legislature. He found that he was getting into a lot of legislative problems and he did not have anybody on his staff already that could handle those legislative problems.



So the Legislature met as you will recall a couple of weeks of a organizational session and he could see and the other members of his staff could see that they were going to have a lot of problems dealing with the Legislature. After that he contacted me and asked me to come back over. I did go back over and he discussed with me the possibility of me serving on his executive staff on what I would call, a legislative hour type basis. That is, I normally came in on Monday and I worked through the week till the legislative session was over and then I came back. It didn't harbor any conflict of interest problem so I was able to work here in my office on Friday and Saturday and Sunday and maintain a degree of responsibility here.

DR. CRAWFORD:           That would have been about February, wouldn't it?

MR. CALDWELL:           Yes, that would have been about February.

DR. CRAWFORD:           What was Frank Barnett doing in the interim between the election and the inauguration?

MR. CALDWELL:           Well I'm not sure. The only time that I met Frank during that period of time was that evening that I ate dinner with him and the Governor over there. But I had the general impression that he was doing most of the appointments and most of the arranging of interviews or that type of thing. I do believe that I had a couple of phone conversations with Frank, but I frankly don't recall it at this time.





DR. CRAWFORD:           What impression did you get of the Governor's staff and organization this time that you were there in November?

MR. CALDWELL:           Well at the time that I was there in November I knew very little about the staff because at that time it was in a very formative type of position. I don't think that any job had completely been set unless it might have been Frank's. They were doing interviews with a lot of people such as myself. But to the best I know, no selections had been made.

There were rumors in the paper that so and so might be considered for such and such a job and that type of thing. There was no definite commitment as far as I knew. I had no impression at that time.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Did you have the impression that Southeast Tennessee, specifically Hamilton County, would be represented adequately in the Governor's appointments?

MR. CALDWELL:           I had hopes that it would and, but when I went back up in January or February, by that time some of the cabinet positions had been filled by that point and it began to look like that there might be some vacancy in this area, but then Commissioner Fred Friend was appointed and then eventually Ben Gibbs was appointed Labor Commissioner so really this area became very well situated as far as the cabinet was concerned.

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4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings. It suggests that the results have significant implications for the field of study and may lead to further research in this area.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a conclusion and summarizes the key points of the study. It reiterates the importance of accurate record-keeping and the need for ongoing research in this field.





DR. CRAWFORD:            You had an unusual ability to contribute  
                             to the Dunn administration in that you  
had had direct experience in the Legislature for a ten-year  
period under a couple of governors before. So would you tell  
something about the beginning days of the Dunn administration  
from your perspective, the difficulties that it had and the  
circumstances that led you to go into service.

MR. CALDWELL: As one wag said, I believe it was a newspaperman, there are very few Republicans legislators that had been in the Legislature before at that time. Of course I had served in the Legislature as a Democrat so I did have some legislative background and experience. After the the decision to appoint Hal Carter, a colleague of mine in the Legislature as the Insurance Commissioner and a gentleman whom I have a great deal of respect



for and a personal friend of mine, I was totally relaxed as far as the Dunn administration was concerned. The Governor was very friendly. He made a point to call me on an issue or two. I don't remember now what they were or what I contributed if anything to them. But at least he was demonstrating some interest in me and some respect for an opinion that I might have on a particular item.

Following the organizational session of '71 Legislature, He saw that he was going to have a number of problems. I don't know who up there indicated to him that he just had to bring in somebody that could deal with the Legislature.

The executive staff that he had assembled really had had very, very little experience as dealing with a Legislature. I guess Ralph Griffith was the only one who knew where the Legislature met hardly at that particular point. He had of course dealt with them as a newspaperman which I find in my own experience to be a considerably different viewpoint than a person who is in the session himself.

In any event, I was contacted following that organizational session and came back up to Nashville and discussed with him the possibility of would I be willing to serve on his executive staff as what he referred to the Legislative Council. We did eventually accept that appointment on a basis of me working up there more or less the same kind of time frame that a legislator would work.

I generally came in on Monday--sometimes Monday afternoons and sometimes Sunday afternoons--worked generally





through Thursday and came back to Chattanooga on late Thursday evening and managed to hang onto most of my business problems on Friday and Saturday and possibly on Sunday occasionally. So I started that in February of '71 and worked in that kind of capacity for the four years of the Dunn administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: When you went there for the first time, Mr. Caldwell, you must have gotten some impression of what the problems were and what was needed. How did you start dealing with this matter of relations between the Governor and the Legislature?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, it was obvious that we had a strong majority and a strong Democratic group there. There was no serious splitting of that Democratic majority. The best thing that contributed to our getting along with some of the Democrats was the Speaker of the House, Jim McKinney, was an abrasive sort of a personality. He turned off some of the Democrats because of his abrasiveness and as a result we were able to deal with the legislators. I don't know exactly what I contributed. There were a number of issues that, as I recall, the taxes we passed in that first session was the major item.

The Governor had introduced a one percent increase in the sales tax. We were eventually able to pass a half-of-one cent tax on a temporary basis. The fact that the Governor wanted full funding of his kindergarten program was a problem that we had in that first session. As far as something to



contribute from my view, I guess I did contribute a little bit in establishing a definitive dialogue between the Democratic leadership of the House and the Governor's office.

We arranged to have meetings on a periodic basis. I believe we met every Tuesday morning as I recall in the Governor's offices. The two Speakers were there; the Democratic floor leaders was there; the Republican floor leaders were there; and the Governor was there along with myself and generally one or two staff members such as Lee Smith or Ralph Griffith.

These meetings proved to be very, very fruitful and very beneficial. They were private meetings and we were able to let our hair down and to discuss quite candidly and quite frankly each other's objectives and each other's objections to the other's view, etc. It resulted in my judgment in a dialogue that was very beneficial to passing some legislation. It eventually resolved itself in the passage of the half-cent; it resolved itself in the passage of the kindergarten program. Although it wasn't the basis that the Governor wanted, it was a definite and definitive start. These dialogues with each other were very, very beneficial.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Do you remember the main things that were discussed at your first meeting of this sort?

MR CALDWELL:           No sir, I don't have a good recollection of that right now. My best memory would



say that was probably the problems connected with the passage of tax measures.

As I recall the Governor had introduced a circuit breaker suggestion that had come out of U.T., I believe, it was designed to be a less regressive tax than the sales tax would have to it. These schemes sound good to the non-legislator or to the person that hasn't been with it on that score, but my best memory tells me that I advised the Governor that that suggestion was in serious trouble when we first started discussing it. I don't recall now exactly whether those measures were already introduced in the opening assembly, in the organizational session or whether they got introduced soon after we got there. He was getting a good deal of recommendations from Russell Hippe and from others that were concerned with that type of thing. He was accepting their advice over the objections of the legislative advice and my own advice on the basis that it was sound.

I found that as I grew to appreciate the Governor that he had a remarkable ability to be willing to support issues that he felt were solid and sound and good for the state regardless of the political consequences or the political reality. Whereas I was more tempted myself to be the compromiser or the person who would say, "If I can't have the whole loaf, how much of this loaf can I get?" and try to enact that particular type thing and get it worked out before it became such a confrontation. The Governor reacted that way.

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4. The fourth part provides a detailed overview of the implementation plan. It outlines the specific steps and timelines for rolling out the new programs and services. It also identifies the resources and personnel required for successful execution, as well as the potential risks and challenges that may arise.

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He felt very strongly about his kindergarten program, for example, and he didn't want to brook any compromise. Of course, I counseled compromise, but I supported his position. That was my responsibility in the Legislature. But we eventually wound up with less than the total package but with a substantial portion of it. So I think the Governor learned how to deal with the Legislature. That just comes from lack of experience. I would never question a Governor's motives on his legislation. He had the most remarkable ability for not being willing to compromise his principle of any man I have ever seen. And that probably comes from a lack of political background because I think if he had served in the Legislature he probably would not have had that strong a feeling on issues. He would have attempted to have gotten his viewpoint passed, but if he saw he couldn't pass it he would have attempted to compromise it a whole lot sooner than he otherwise did.

DR. CRAWFORD:           When he considered something a matter of principle, then he did not. . . .

MR. CALDWELL:           When he considered it a matter of principle, he was bull-headed enough that he was going to pass it if there was any way in the world.

(Laughter) He had tremendous strong leadership in that direction.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Can you think of a few examples of things of issues that would involve matters of principle?





MR. CALDWELL: Yes, those that got him into a lot of political hot water with the Legislature would be the best examples. The one that predominated for the whole time of his office as far as I was concerned was probably the issue of the medical school.

He was exactly right. The state could not afford two medical schools. The medical school in Memphis was terribly underfunded. But that didn't change the political realities of what Jimmy Quillen wanted and of what the upper East Tennessee Republicans wanted. It led to a great deal of grief for me and for the Governor too as far as that is concerned and the passage of a lot of legislation. That if we had been able to effectuate some type of compromise on the medical school in the early days, we would have likely not had the problems we had on such issues as 11-W, Morristown prison, etc. All of those things as far as I am concerned were the basis of the basic conflict with the medical school.

I think that the Governor's unwillingness to compromise on what he considered to be a definite principle that as far as I am concerned was an entirely sound principle. In other words he was exactly right. But sometimes you can be right and lose the war in legislative terms. While he did not lose the war in my judgment, we sure got into a lot of headaches with that uncompromising position.

DR. CRAWFORD: When did this medical school issue first come up?



MR. CALDWELL: I am reasonably certain it came up the first year. If my memory serves me right we wound up passing only some type of a resolution that supported a medical school at East Tennessee State if the Federal government would provide the funds for it or something to that effect if it did not affect state funds. Then the second year of the Dunn administration is when we really got into the medical school in terms of dollars and issues and conflict. Even the first year as I recall, we had a definite problem on that resolution. I am reasonably certain I am right on that.

DR. CRAWFORD: The issue is still unsettled.

MR. CALDWELL: The issue is still unsettled. I think history in the intervening months has strengthened the fact that the Governor was exactly right. I became convinced after I had studied it a little bit that the Governor was exactly on the right path.

The problem was that he created political headaches among his own party that provided the impetus for some Democrats to compromise some issues that they had no interest in whatsoever. They were not concerned whether a medical school existed at East Tennessee State or not. But they saw that as a device where they could pass some other legislation that they were intensely interested in passing. It was a source of considerable frustration to me to find members of the Republican party going over and voting with the Democrats in a number of issues that otherwise I wouldn't have had



that problem with. I can easily understand an upper East Tennessee legislator being in a position where there was no alternative for him but to support a medical school. That I can easily understand.

But the Governor had a difficult time understanding that. He very much wanted them to take the position that he took. It was just a terribly unfortunate thing as far as I was concerned for that issue to raise itself. As far as from a legislative standpoint the medical school caused me more problems than any other one item in the whole sessions.

DR. CRAWFORD: I think that clearly was a matter of principle and a very difficult thing for the Governor since the First Congressional District was the traditional Republican areas in the state and this was something they wanted very much whether it would be good for the entire state or not. To take the position that he felt would be necessary would certainly cause difficulty in the strong Republican area.

What other matter of principle do you think of in terms of his program?

MR. CALDWELL: Well the issue of the kindergarten program was a good example where he did not want anyway to compromise getting the entire funding that was necessary. We actually were very fortunate from a dollars and cents standpoint. Dollars and cents are normally the biggest problem that a Governor has with the Legislature. We were able to get the half-cent passed and then we had a



tremendously surging economy for the entire time that resulted in a lot of additional dollars. Then the Federal government passed the Revenue Sharing thing that caused additional dollars to come our way to the point that the economy was such that we didn't need much in the way of dollars. Really dollars were not that much of an item. It was a question of allocating whether it goes this way or that way or the other way but not a question of : "I can't do anything less I get some more dollars type of issue." So we were very fortunate from that standpoint.

Items like the kindergarten were instances where the Governor just refused to compromise. There were others that just don't come to mind right at this particular moment, but as we go along perhaps I'll recall some others that were similar.

Eleven-W was an example of where the Governor was exactly correct. The Governor was exactly right. When the Freeway was finished from Knoxville to Kingsport or wherever it goes to up there, the truck traffic was going to get off of 11-W and 11-W would become a much less traveled road. The problems that were there do not exist today because the Freeway has been finished. We tried to explain that to the legislators, but they did not accept that as an issue. They wanted that road built, and it became a local item that they had enough support for from Democrats who were supporting them basically on the medical school that they could pass the





11-W bond issue. It is very interesting that the Blanton administration has not implemented that. The law is still on the books, but as best as I know, 11-W hasn't been--that one hundred and some odd million dollars worth of bonds that were authorized--have not been issued nor have they been spent in redoing 11-W. I would almost project that I think that's what it will wind up with. So again the Governor's viewpoint was exactly correct.

But his unwillingness to compromise perhaps, while I am concerned, is a good strong point of his character and that I commend him on. Nevertheless, it resulted in some problems from a legislative standpoint.

DR. CRAWFORD: Politically that can be a liability.

MR. CALDWELL: It can be a liability, yes sir.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you think he gave enough consideration to the fact that people in upper East Tennessee had the general feeling of having been left out of the attention of state government for a long time?

MR. CALDWELL: I had the distinct impression that the Governor made his mind up on the basis of the issues at that time as he saw them and not on the basis of whether he was assenting to the problems of upper East Tennessee being left out or not. Upper East Tennessee's legislators did feel that particular position very, very strongly. I understood that and had seen them left out over a number of years. It is probably because I was a good deal more sympa-



thetic to them than I was able to get the Governor to exhibit.

Regardless of whether or not he gave enough credence to that or not, they felt that way and they felt that way very strongly. I think the main motivation of the Governor on questions such as the regional prison in Morristown or 11-W or the medical school or any of the other things that would affect upper East Tennessee. I think his motivation was almost entirely on the basis for our need of a regional prison or on 11-W's need to be redone, or on the need for a medical school and not on the basis of whether he took care of upper East Tennessee and a Republican area or not. That was one of the legislator's main motivations.

DR. CRAWFORD: I would suppose that people in upper East Tennessee who had felt left out for a long time and had been Republicans felt that with a Republican governor in, they could finally get some, if not special attention, at least what they regarded as fair and overdue attention.

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, that brings up one other issue that was directly related to that. This was true throughout the state to a degree. As you have seen with the Blanton administration, when he came in he fired a lot of Republicans. The Governor took the position, as best that I understood his position when I was in staff meetings, that he did not want people fired purely for political reasons. That if the person involved was incompetent or inefficient or a non-desireable from the standpoint of doing his job, then



fine he would be perfectly willing to get shed of that person and hire somebody else.

But he had a great deal of problems with local patronage committees that he established that would want "Joe Doe" to be fired because they just didn't like him or something like that. The Governor insisted upon a definite reason to justify the firing and when those reasons were not forthcoming from the local people which frequently they weren't-- there was just the statement: "We don't know why but we just want him fired." The Governor refused to do so. This caused a great deal of problems with local political leaders.

There were a lot of them who were quite angry. A lot of legislators were quite angry with the Governor's unwillingness to get shed of people who they felt like were terrible political hacks that had been in there for years that they needed to be replaced. When the facts were given that justified the firing, then he never hesitated to act very responsibly, and very quickly and very positively. He had to have facts that justified firing on a basis other than that the person was a Democrat.

That is in sharp contrast with some of the preceding administrations and certainly of the Blanton administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: I sometimes wondered if patronage to dispense creates more ill will than good will.



MR. CALDWELL:           There's no question about it. Just a little simple issue the first term I was up there that just created thousands of man hours and you wouldn't dream of the problems it creates was the special tags for the Governor's staff. It caused hours and hours of staff time. People were checked and rechecked and even then mistakes were made. People got their feelings hurt and this that and the other. Those kind of problems take up inordinate amount of unproductive time really.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Do you suppose the good will this supposedly engenders among the people who receive those things are justified? Do you suppose the good will is justified by the cost?

MR. CALDWELL:           I don't think so because you would be amazed how many arguments were created because one guy got #133 and his friend down the road got 131 and you had a terrible argument on your hands. Why didn't I get the lower one of the two. I frankly think that we ought to do away with staff tags altogether.

DR. CRAWFORD:           It's one of those problems, I suppose, it is traditional and is a way of doing something for people. So there would be unhappy people if they weren't given. And you had many people unhappy when you are? I know the present administration is still using them.

MR. CALDWELL:           They are, but on a different basis. They may have a right idea I don't know about





that. It certainly was a source of inordinate amounts of time in the first year that the Governor was in office.

DR. CRAWFORD: In the joint conferences that you arranged between the Governor and legislative leaders , did you have much disagreement concerning who would get credit for things--the Legislature or the Governor?

MR. CALDWELL: Oh, I would say that the question of credit was always important, but I got the Governor to the place where the question of credit wasn't as important as the question of passing the legislation. There was not an inordinate amount of that. There was more of that during Jim McKinney's day as Speaker of the House--the first two years of the Dunn administration--than there was the second time. We didn't have the question of credit as a big issue in the third and fourth year, but as I recall it may have been a little more of a problem the first two years. The Governor quickly got to the place where the question of credit wasn't as important as the question of passage.

DR. CRAWFORD: That actually did get more passed, didn't it?

MR. CALDWELL: Oh, there's no question about it, yes.

DR. CRAWFORD: What Democratic legislative leaders did you find most cooperative in dealing with the Governor?

MR. CALDWELL: I found a much friendlier, more mature relationship or concern in the Senate



generally than I did in the House. Although there were legislators in the House that were certainly of a mold and of a mind to be cooperative on this issue or that issue. I generally found that it depended upon the issues rather than on the individual. That is, a given legislator could be very cooperative with the Governor in given areas (Democratic). For example, Bill Baird in the Senate could be very cooperative in some areas. On the other hand there were some other areas that he would absolutely fight the Governor tooth and toenail if he felt like he was wrong. In the House there were similar circumstances.

I would say that generally John Wilder made a conscious effort at being cooperative with the Governor. But by the same token, if his Democratic Caucus instructed him to do one thing, he went down that road just as hard as he could go. John did not abandon his party in any way, but he did make a conscious effort at finding compromises and methods by which a particular viewpoint and particular positions could be accommodated but without destroying the objective we had--of sound legislation.

Speaker McWherter was of course just in the Legislature in the first two years. He was a Democratic Floor Leader. As such he met with us a good deal and we found that we could communicate (I guess is a good word) with Speaker McWherter more than we could with Jim McKinney. For that matter as the session grew, we got to the place where Speaker McWherter had



more influence among his Democratic colleagues than did Speaker McKinney.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was that in part because the administration was cooperating with him?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, I don't know that I would say that it was in part that. I would say that it was as much in part that he was to a degree intelligently listening to the administration--not necessarily cooperating as being concerned with their viewpoint and attempting to be accommodating for as many of the administration's viewpoints that he felt were justified. I wouldn't want to imply that Ned McWherter cooperated with the administration just for the administration's viewpoint. By the same token if he felt the administration's view was sound he would adopt that view and support it or go as far down the road as he could with us.

DR. CRAWFORD: You had a fair amount of understanding it seems to me on both sides of the difficulties and the positions of the other side. Why did you have this difference between Speakers McKinney and McWherter? Why would you work more effectively with one speaker than with another?

MR. CALDWELL: No, I think it was entirely a matter of personalities. There were minor issues such as the Union University thing that Jim McKinney seemed to be hipped up over. There was some kind of a building at Tennessee Tech that he was extremely involved with. But I think it was primarily a matter of leadership ability. Ned



McWherter seemed to have the ability to get along with his Democratic colleagues better, in my judgment, than Jim McKinney did.

DR. CRAWFORD:           What was the university matter that Mr. McKinney was interested in?

MR CALDWELL:           At Union?

DR. CRAWFORD:           Yes sir.

MR. CALDWELL:           Union University is a Baptist school as you know in Jackson. My memory is a little bit hazy on it, but as I understood it they wanted to sell their old university campus and move to a new university campus and they wanted to work that out so that they sold their old campus to the state of Tennessee. There was something involved at that time where the Dunn administration wanted to build a new school for the deaf in Jackson and the administration people advised that the Union University campus was just not suitable for their purposes. The Governor did not want to spend any funds on that Union campus for state purposes. The land would have been all right but the buildings just had no value to the state. A conflict developed there with McKinney pushing strongly for the state to purchase the college and the Dunn administration pushing just as hard in the other direction.

DR. CRAWFORD:           You found relations with Speaker McWherter and with Lieutenant Governor Wilder generally to be--would you use the word "cooperative"?





MR. CALDWELL: Yes, maybe a better word to use would be intelligent. Because I wouldn't want to overemphasize cooperativeness as far as both of them are concerned. They were concerned about their own party. They were concerned about their parties' caucus viewpoint, but they were intelligent about what was in the best interest of the state of Tennessee as distinguished from the what was the political expedient thing to do.

DR. CRAWFORD: Generally, can you give some examples of working things out politically with the General Assembly, for example in the kindergarten program?

MR. CALDWELL: Well, when we couldn't get but one-half of one cent instead of one cent we were almost limited by necessity through available dollars. We were able to get the kindergarten program passed so that it was legal, but we were not able to get the appropriation as fast because the dollars were not there. So it was a matter of necessity to compromise, mostly in that case on the part of the Dunn administration. I don't know how I can recall how we were able to work out the compromise that we worked out, but it was almost entirely dictated to by a lack of funds. As I recall the suggestions that we finally passed the Legislature in effect specified a dollar amount that they were not going to go beyond and when the Governor finally accepted that then it was a question of, how do I best spend those dollars? That was reached and so we were able to implement as I recall about 25% of the total kindergarten



program and the second year we implemented roughly another 25% or so of it and we eventually were able to get a full statewide kindergarten program.

DR. CRAWFORD: Was the Governor satisfied so far as you know with the kindergarten program as it ultimately developed?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, as it ultimately developed, I think he would be. I think he was impatient to get it entirely implemented, but he was realistic enough to understand that he didn't have the dollars enough to do the whole thing. So he did as much as he could.

DR. CRAWFORD: I believe, Mr. Caldwell, that the record indicated that Winfield Dunn had a record of substantial accomplishments as Governor. How much of that do you suppose is due to the fact that the economy was generally favorable or was favorable during part of his administration?

MR CALDWELL: I think that had some impact on it, but we haven't discussed another item that I think was a real hallmark of the Governor's administration, that probably contributed far more toward the accomplishments of the Dunn administration than maybe the dollars that were available. That was I found in Governor Dunn a tremendous ability to select good men to surround himself. With present company excepted he had a remarkable ability to surround himself with the just the people that I learned to have tremendous admiration for and tremendous respect for. Lee

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Smith was a good example of a person who was probably more responsible than any other one individual for advising the Governor on key issues of things that needed to be supported or things that were not quite so important at that particular time. Priorities might be a better way of putting it. Lee is just a tremendous talent in my judgment. Great intellectual ability and great understanding of political realities of particular issue.

So I think the main reason that the Governor enjoyed as much accomplishment as he did was his ability to surround himself with qualified people rather than the available dollars. He got a lot of useage out of the available dollars that were there. Let's put it that way.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Your evaluation of Lee Smith's service is very interesting. Were there other aides to the Governor or other members of the cabinet that you felt were especially effective?

MR. CALDWELL:           Oh yes. In the question of staff people Yes, besides Lee whom I felt was probably the best thing that happened to the Governor from the standpoint of his staff or his cabinet, I feel like that Ted Welch and Russ Hippe were two excellent administrators in the Finance and Administration department. Both of them contributed significantly. I felt like Ted Welch was the hard-nosed executive that probably contributed more, but Russ Hippe played an important part too in my judgment. There were many cabinet positions and posts that I feel contribu-



ted much. Bill Jenkins and Granny Hinton in Conservation and Ben Carmichael in the Department of Education were very effective I felt and did a splendid job. I didn't have that strong an opinion or know Dr. Stimbert as well as I did Dr. Carmichael. I formed a very high opinion of Ben Carmichael's administrative ability.

He had some excellent leadership from people in his planning area such as Leonard Bradley. He had remarkable success with the Department of Mental Health, Dr. Treadway. I felt like Fred Friend took a very tough job in the Department of Welfare and without a great deal of background but with enormous amount of energy and willingness to work. I thought he did a very acceptable job. He took a lot on the chin and was in the center of a great deal of controversy. As far as I am concerned he did a very acceptable job of holding down the expansions of welfare and getting rid of some that shouldn't be on welfare and doing in general a very capable administrative job. I felt that Jane Hardaway was very effective and did a good job in a tough job as Personnel Commissioner. She was understanding; she was bright; she was intelligent; she was a joy as far as I was concerned.

Then perhaps one man that should not be overlooked was in the Commissioner of Revenue a Mr. Tidwell--George Tidwell. He just did an outstanding job, I thought, collecting dollars. He collected the taxes that were on the books in more novel ways and sound ways than I think that has





ever been done before. At least that was my impression. I just had an extremely good impression of him.

There were others on the cabinet that were equally good but I think in general the Dunn administration achieved much of what it did achieve because the Governor didn't have any real weak spots on his administrative or cabinet level staff. He had the remarkable ability to surround himself with competent people.

The Economic Community Development came in later on and among great controversy and was greatly hampered and handicapped because of that controversy. The Commissioner there [Pat Choate] was just an outstanding person and fully justified the Governor's bullheadedness in proceeding to get him appointed and eventually selected and on the job. I hated to see him leave. The Governor made a good appointment, but it was poorly handled from a public relations standpoint.

That's just a few. There are others that I could mention, but those are the ones that stand out in my memory.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, that has a great deal to do with how a gubernatorial administration is evaluated. These people form their impressions by the people around the Governor since they are seen more than the Governor himself.

MR CALDWELL: Correct.



DR. CRAWFORD: Did you attend cabinet meetings, Mr. Caldwell?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, when I was in Nashville. Some of the cabinet meetings were held on Monday mornings and I frequently would not be there. But when I came over on Sunday I was always there for cabinet meetings and did attend especially during legislative session and I was generally asked to be there of course.

DR. CRAWFORD: In any meeting, I suppose, there are some people who tend to be leaders and wield more influence than others. Would you refer to any people in the Winfield Dunn cabinet you saw who became particularly influential in shaping policy?

MR. CALDWELL: I think the Commissioners in Finance and Administration are invariably involved in a key position if they are halfway strong and the Governor enjoyed two very strong men in that position. They always exerted a great deal of influence. Lee Smith was in a position to where he exerted a tremendous amount of influence. Although the bulk of his influence was felt more in staff meetings than in cabinet meetings. He was not the type of person that was seen a great deal in meetings. But in small groups and meetings with the Governor, he was closely listened to and his opinions and feelings were deeply respected by everybody. Ralph Griffith had a great deal of influence on the Governor from a public relations standpoint. Those are principally staff members I realize, but the

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Governor let his cabinet members make strong recommendations and he didn't always agree with everything they recommended but he certainly explored it with them on an intelligent basis and made a judgment on the basis of what he honestly thought was in the best interest.

So I would say that each one of the cabinet members influenced policy in his particular area. For example, Dr. Stimbert and Dr. Carmichael certainly contributed in the educational area and certainly Dr. Treadway did in the Mental Health area, etc. Fred Friend had many conferences with the Governor and did a great deal of influencing as far as welfare was concerned.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you know how well pleased the Governor was with the way that his Commission heads carried out policy? Did that seem generally to be effective or were some of them better than others?

MR. CALDWELL: Well of course, some are better than others. Anytime you assemble a group of eighteen or twenty people you are going to have some that are more competent in given areas than others. Some were quite competent in making decisions on what was right and wrong, but rather inept in perhaps handling it from a public relations standpoint--getting the story sold.

For example, in the case of regional prisons here was a decision and here was a policy that was entirely correct from the standpoint of the state but was horribly handled as far as I am concerned from a public relations standpoint.



DR. CRAWFORD:           How do you think that could have been  
done better?

MR. CALDWELL:           I've reviewed that many times, and maybe  
I                       am quick to criticize the fact that it  
was horribly handled   public relations-wise, I declare it  
would have been an extremely tough job to have sold.  
Basically, there should have been a great deal less haste in  
moving forward with this thing. Because a regional prison  
could be and should be a very fine political plum if it were  
handled properly from a patronages standpoint and from the  
standpoint of jobs in the area, from the standpoint of  
contract, from the standpoint of this, that and the other.  
Yet it was rushed too much in a desire I guess to achieve to  
the point that the public didn't have time to catch up with  
it. The result was that the public got to the place --  
especially in Morristown--where it was a horrible thing  
happening to their community instead it would have been a  
very fine thing happening to their community. But it just  
wasn't sold. So I guess the biggest mistake made was haste  
and the second thing was enough time to sell the concept,  
the institution, and the resulting values to the community  
that would result from having such an institution.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Do you suppose a better location might  
have been found?

MR. CALDWELL:           Oh I think a little flexibility could  
have been used to a good degree. But the  
Governor was advised as I recall that he needed to have edu-





ational facilities close at hand, needed to have medical facilities close at hand, and he needed to have transportation or roads close at hand, and the location that was selected up there in Morristown was a perfect spot from the standpoint of three basic criteria.

Again, I think the biggest problem in Morristown was haste.

DR. CRAWFORD: And the lack of preparing the people for it.

MR. CALDWELL: Yes. That's what I mean.

DR. CRAWFORD: Were you present when the decision was made to close Brushy Mountain?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, I guess I was. I sat in on some conversations with the Commissioner and the Governor. I visited Brushy Mountain with some legislative leaders just prior to that time.

As you know it was rather ironic. Here we were up in Morristown fighting to build a new one and nobody up there wanted a prison and here in Brushy Mountain everybody up there wanted very badly to hold on to it. So I am not sure that I know exactly when the final decision was made, but I recall one meeting with the Commissioner and Lee Smith and myself and the Governor. I think that was probably the occasion in which final judgment was rendered.

DR. CRAWFORD: I know there were a lot of differences, but was consideration given at any time



to the possibility of remodeling Brushy Mountain into a regional prison?

MR. CALDWELL: Yes, there was considerable discussion about it. I recall when we went up there we had the benefit of some kind of intelligent estimates of contractors as to what it would cost to rehabilitate the thing, but even if you had rehabilitated Brushy Mountain and got it to the place where it was useable as a prison, first of all you would have spent a tremendous amount of money--I don't recall now the number of dollars of involved. I remember the heating system that needed to be redone was tremendous cost item. As I recall we were going to spend well over a million dollars and you still would have had a very dungeon like atmosphere. You would have not had anything closely resembling the concept of a regional prison.

In the first place, Brushy Mountain lends itself only to the hardened criminal, in my judgment. It is not a pleasant place. It is extremely remote--way back in the mountains--and there are no roads to amount to a hill of beans in the area. There are no educational facilities anywhere close. There are no medical facilities close. It didn't meet any of the three criteria that were basic to the regional prison concept.

But beyond that you were going to have to spend a tremendous amount of money to get it even to the place where it was habitable much less useable as a regional prison. The only advantage of leaving Brushy Mountain was the fact that



it benefitted a few of the guards and the people that were up there living off of it.

DR. CRAWFORD: Well, there are times when it costs more remodel something old than to start with something new.

MR. CALDWELL: No question about it. We felt that this was the case. I completely agreed with the Governor's findings on that item.

DR. CRAWFORD: How long did you serve the Governor in your capacity as legislative counsel?

MR. CALDWELL: For the four legislative sessions--his entire administration.

DR. CRAWFORD: Did you feel free, Mr. Caldwell, and this is another direct question, to disagree with the Governor or express your disagreement to him on issues and policy?

MR. CALDWELL: A very important point and I recall some degree of reticence when I first started but he put me completely at ease. Then I found particularly Ralph Griffith who if he didn't agree with the Governor, he let him know right quick that he didn't agree and why he didn't agree. Maybe there were others too on the staff, while they were pleasant about it they were very positive and very definite about their disagreement or their opinion. I found myself of being in the position of almost having to express more forcefully. He encouraged me. He never discouraged dissident opinion. It was carefully understood,

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of course that once a decision was made that was his decision and then it was our obligation to support that decision. From the standpoint of staff work he was excellent to work with on a staff basis because he encouraged your opinion and your thoughts. Then he was very careful to weigh those. You never got the impression that he ignored your opinion. You got the impression that he carefully weighed. He frequently disagreed with you on the basis of other considerations.

I would have been prone to counsel and did counsel many compromise efforts. Maybe that is by the nature of my background. He did not accede to those compromise efforts frequently. I felt like he had some problems as a result of it. But I never questioned the fact that he was absolutely satisfied that what his opinion was and the position that he was taking was right. The medical school was a real good example.

DR. CRAWFORD: Do you believe in general that his staff members felt free to express disagreement.

MR. CALDWELL: I don't think there was any doubt about it. It was an excellent staff work relationship. Here again, I think it is a measure of the fact that I feel that Governor Dunn was an excellent executive. I feel like he surrounded himself with good competent people; he listened to their advice carefully; but he never had a hesitancy of making up his own mind sometimes contrary to that advice on what he thought was his best judgment. I thought he did an excellent job in that respect.





DR. CRAWFORD: I think one of the important parts of success of any gubernatorial administration is rather negative--and it is avoiding scandal. The Dunn administration was successful in getting through with a quite clean record. There were a few criticisms of course. The dismissal of Commissioner Stimbert, Mr. Griffith's use of the photograph and a few other things. Did you have any difficulty with the Legislature as a result of these things?

MR. CALDWELL: Not particularly, no. Most of the disagreements I had with legislators and things of that type were instances of where Republican legislators in particular wanted a Democratic position holder fired that the Governor was reluctant to fire and would not fire on the basis of just that the man was a Democrat.

DR. CRAWFORD: Looking back on your four years as legislative counsel to Governor Dunn, what do you consider your most useful services?

MR. CALDWELL: I think that the fact that we were able to have liaison with the Democratic majority both terms was the single thing that contributed to sound legislation in several areas. I didn't find the fact that I had changed parties to be a strong deterrant. I was regarded as an extremely conservative Democrat and some of the other Democrats almost wished that they had done the same thing or they respected my opinion. I also found that the Democrats appreciated the fact that I did not turn around as



a Republican and run as an incumbent. This was particularly true with local Democrats.

So if I contributed anything it would be in the area of counsel and advice and perhaps the ability to work with the majority of the other party to a better degree than some others might have been able to do.

DR. CRAWFORD:            You did bring special talents to that work and special experience. Having worked with two other Democratic governors, Mr. Caldwell, how would you objectively evaluate Winfield Dunn's administration?

MR. CALDWELL:            I had relatively similar contact with the Frank Clement administration from what I had with the Dunn administration. I served as floor leader for him in '63. I felt that Frank Clement some of similar executive talents that I found in Governor Dunn. Frank Clement had the ability to surround himself with pretty good people and to listen to their advice with some counsel and make up his own mind. But I really didn't have as much inside or as frequent a relationship with him as I enjoyed with Governor Dunn. So it is difficult to evaluate the two.

In the case of Buford Ellington I had the impression that he was a good solid man, sound personally and of high moral principles and character, but I didn't get the impression that he had the executive talent that was exhibited by Governor Dunn or Governor Clement.

DR. CRAWFORD:            What other things have I not asked about Mr. Caldwell, that you would think would

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PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 354: QUANTUM MECHANICS

LECTURE 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE CLASSICAL LIMIT

1.2. THE QUANTUM LIMIT

1.3. THE CORRESPONDENCE PRINCIPLE

1.4. THE DE BROGLIE HYPOTHESIS

1.5. THE SCHRÖDINGER EQUATION

1.6. THE HEISENBERG UNCERTAINTY PRINCIPLE

1.7. THE DIRAC EQUATION

1.8. THE PAULI EXCLUSION PRINCIPLE

1.9. THE SPIN-ORBIT INTERACTION

1.10. THE FINITE POTENTIAL WELL

1.11. THE HARMONIC OSCILLATOR

1.12. THE HYDROGEN ATOM

1.13. THE ADDITION OF ANGULAR MOMENTA

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1.20. THE SPECTRA OF OTHER ELEMENTS

1.21. THE SPECTRA OF MOLECULES

1.22. THE SPECTRA OF SOLIDS

1.23. THE SPECTRA OF PLASMAS

1.24. THE SPECTRA OF COSMIC RAY

be important for the historical record of the Dunn administration?

MR. CALDWELL: We had an extremely tough time the last year because we were sort of lame ducks. With the Watergate problems we had a weaker administration the last year than we enjoyed the first three years. As a result we did not get passed in the last session of the Legislature near what we accomplished in the first three terms. I felt quite disappointed in this myself, but the Governor was extremely generous in his praise and his sense of feeling of accomplishment for the big picture as he referred to it or the over-all results of his administration.

I do feel very good about his administration from the standpoint of the entire four-year period. I left the fourth year with some disappointments that we weren't able to accomplish more that last year. I felt the first three years were extremely productive and the last year was sort of an unproductive type of year. I hated that, but I did feel there was much accomplished. Most of it is on the public record. I don't know any particular thing that I could comment on would be beneficial in this particular instance. The question of the Missouri Plan--the court fight--and the battles there resulted from that passage were very interesting, but I did not have a whole lot to do with it and I really don't have any viewpoint that is particularly significant.

The basic concept of the Economic Community Development Department and Pat Choate's contribution and the putting in



of a professional rather than a politician in that position is essential. It is awfully sound. I felt this was a major step by the Governor. I admired him frankly for his willingness and ability to stick by his guns in the face of just mountains of opposition. I thought he did an unusually good job for the state of Tennessee as a result. I just wish that Pat Choate had had six years or more to establish himself and to get into that saddle real good. If he had, I don't believe any Governor would have removed him from that position. I think he would have stayed right there.

The Governor was beginning to talk at the tail end of his administration about the fact that we needed to take a long look at our what he referred to as "our regressive tax structure." The state is going to have serious problems if we don't do something in this area. Yet I see no way that we are ever going to pass a Income Tax without a vote of the people. And I don't see the people ever voting for an income tax. In spite of the rhetoric involved I don't find it as a viable solution at this particular point. Maybe I am not as far sighted as the Governor because he kept talking about it at considerable length.

One issue that we have not touched on that might be of some value historically is that the Governor exerted the veto a great deal. I thought a little unwisely in a few cases. As you know in Tennessee the veto doesn't take any additional votes to override as it does to pass. It takes the same number of votes to override as it does to pass a bill which





is a very unfortunate situation. It removes the possibility of the executive having any tremendous influence on a bill. Consequently, when a bill is extremely popular or when a bill is going to positively be passed over vetoes I don't see a great deal of value in vetoing that legislation and making the Legislature reenact the thing in some cases. Of course there are principles that need to be adhered. But a Governor can demonstrate his displeasure with a particular piece of legislation by just simply not signing by permitting it to become law. I counseled similar action in several instances. The Governor tended not to take that position. He tended to feel that if he objected he ought to exert a veto and express his objections in that veto message so that they would be on record. I learned frankly to admire that though I disagreed with it violently the first two or three sessions of the Legislature. Some of my most strenuous pleas to the Governor was not to veto some particular legislation that he vetoed anyhow.

I think from a historical viewpoint he demonstrated why some legislation should not be passed and although he was overridden a good number of times there were a few instances where we were able to sustain his veto when I was just absolutely certain his veto would not be sustained. I guess that's one reason I came around to admire him rather than to disagree with that position.

I left his administration with the highest opinion of the man and of his dedication, his willingness to work, his



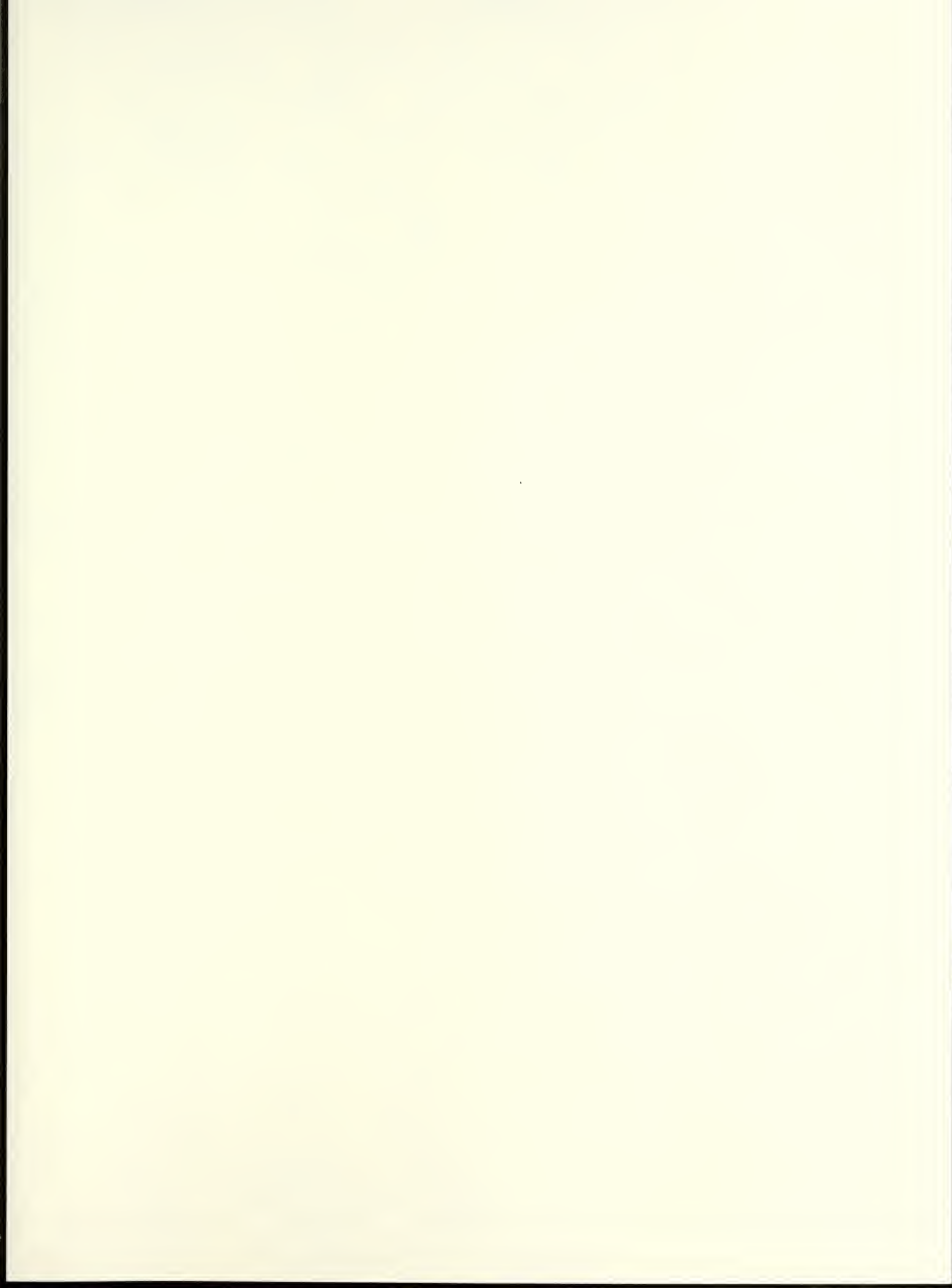
executive ability with a remarkable sense of achievement that I felt like he had accomplished and perhaps a small part that I had had a chance to play in that accomplishment. I felt real good about the service that was there and about his tenure as our Governor. I felt that I was indeed fortunate to have a small part to play in it.

DR. CRAWFORD:           Thank you, Mr. Caldwell.













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